301 /219 cont./

314 The making of this lip-plug is strictly prescribed and is regarded by the elders as a sort of religious act. Two different trees furnish the suitable resin: in the language of the Caiuás [192] they are called: tembetá and caiuí. The resin of the former is far more highly prized.

The extraction and preparation are done in the following way: One peels the bark off a suitable trunk and in the peeled spot scratches a triangle, at the lower tip of which a small, hollow bamboo tube is fastened. The whole is covered with a large leaf. The bamboo tube is left for three to four weeks, until it is full of the slowly dripping resin. Then it is removed and the already hardened resin, which now has the desired shape of the lip-plug, is pulled out. It is dried well in the sun and smoothed with amambai leaves (7). -- The triangle, however,

7. Fern.

may be incised only in the late afternoon, shortly before sun- [184] down. The man who does it must fast after midday and the following forenoon; drinking too, even pure water, is forbidden. Prayers are said during the cutting and the attaching of the bamboo.

301 The Caiuás put great value on their tembetá; it is their • 186 tribal mark. "The tembetá to us is the same as the flag to the whites," an older man told me.

301 The wife of the priest of magic likewise adorns herself 237 with a chest band that bears tufts of feathers, and furthermore 793 with chains of seeds. In former times the beak of the toucan was a favorite ornament of the women. -- Today the toucans have become rare as a consequence of the clearing of the forests and the advancing settlements. Since four toucans are needed for a diadem, new ones are scarcely made any more, and only the priests wear them on festive occasions. The young people no longer know how to make them around the bow string. -- /220/ In recent times chest bands that display silk tassels instead of feather tufts have appeared.

/9 cont./

• 186 Among the contemporaneous Guaraní the consciousness of tribal unity did not come to prevail. Each one of the subgroups tries to accentuate and exaggerate the existing differences, to the extent of criticizing and ridiculing one another. The diversity of the dialects, of the religious beliefs and practices, of the psychic constitution, and even of the physical appearance serve as motive for each band to affirm constantly its putative superiority over the others. It is true that, as the cultural disintegration proceeds as a result of familiarity with "civilized" people, the dissensions tend to give way to a consciousness of the "Indian" as opposed to the "Brazilian" ("Portuguese") or the "Paraguayan." Thus, on the basis of the undeniable /10/ ethnic similitude and the common situation of ambivalence when confronted with the white man, certain patterns of co-operation and solidarity evolve at times chiefly when it is a matter of little bands restricted to small areas of land.

101 The Guaraní of Southern Brazil can be divided into three large groups: the Ñandéva (which includes the Apapokúva /Apapocuva/, whom the work of Curt Nimuendajú made famous) (2),

[114] 2. /From p. 22 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914. This is, perhaps, the most important study on the Guaraní culture published to date.

the Mbüá /Mbya/, and the Kayová. These last are the only ones who nowadays do not use the autodenomination Guaraní in confronting strangers. As far as the current designations for the innumerable hordes found in the literature are concerned, the confusion is such that any attempt to establish order is doomed to unsatisfactory results from the outset.

[128] [114]

128 In spite of the slight variations among the numerous villages, 101 the separation into three subgroups is justified mainly by linguistic differences, but also by peculiarities in the material and non-material culture. Reference will be made to these particularities 197 at the proper time in the course of this study. The existence of three Guaraní dialects in Brazilian territory can very easily be verified. There is no doubt but that others exist outside Brazil.

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confusion between Kayová and the Mbüá, it is understood that the former advanced as far as the Lower Tibaji /Tibagi/ in their migrations.

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In whatever manner, the Guaraní constitute a unity only in the sense of "tribe-nation," and not as "tribe-state," according to Malinowski's terminology (12).

12. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Malinowski, 1944, pp. 165-166.

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Depending on the situation in which a subgroup finds itself, it will consider the representatives of one of the others as individuals of equal origin or not (13).

13. /From p. 23 of the original source./ I have not infrequently noted that the Mbüá of São Paulo made a controversy out of being considered "legitimate Guaraní," partly in order to define better their status as Brazilians before the authorities and the Lusitano-Brazilian population in general, but also partly because they considered themselves superior to the Ñandéva of the nearby villages, whom they call Txiripá ſ (or nickname them depreciatively "Xavánte"). In turn the Ñandéva of the coast, more prudently perhaps, call the Mbüá, as we saw, Txeinü (my friend), and as for the Kayová they told me it was a matter of "other Guaraní," whom "we call Uütxü." In a village in southern Mato Grosso, Amambai, I observed the frank hostility of the Kayová toward the Ñandéva, to the point that the latter ended up expelled by the former, without there being any objective reasons for it. The Kayová capitão /captain, chief, leader/ explained his attitude to me, saying: "Guaraní (i.e., Ñandéva) is no good when it is cold, is no good when it is hot, is no good when his belly is full and is no good when he is

/12 cont./

101 hungry. The Kayová curer really cures and he
•186 even shows the sickness that he pulls out of the
[756] body, but the Guaraní curer is only a thief."

186 Nevertheless the hostility among the diverse subgroups of the tribe rarely goes so far as to take the form of open combat. With
[648] reference to the Kaingáng /Caingang/ and other foreign tribes the attitude is either one of fear or one of ridicule. It was in general with lively interest that the engravings and photographs from anthropological books that I showed them were commented
[101] upon. I frequently heard the name "Tupinambá" for any Indians of unknown tribe.

For Brazilians of Portuguese origin, or "outside people," there are various denominations, in general depreciatory: a neutral one is yvýpóre, which I heard among Ñandéva of the Paulista coast. These also call the Negroes "jaguar food," naturally
[825] based on the belief quite widespread in Brazil, that jaguars have a special predilection for persons of black skin (14).

14. /From p. 23 of the original source./
Buarque de Holanda, 1949, p. 249.

175 The history of the Guaraní in Paulista territory is quite well known, thanks to the works of Nimuendajú and other investigators. It is known that among them there are no remnants of the ancient Tupí of the coast, who had disappeared already in colonial times.
175 They are linked to the migratory currents, coming from the west,
167 that have followed one another since the first quarter of the last
[773] century. The reason for these wanderings is the yvý opá, the
[789] end of the world, prophesied by the doctor-sorcerers. Among the groups that have come to the coast, Nimuendajú shows the horde of the Tafliguá /Tanygua/ (1820), the Oguahuíva /Oguauiva/ (1820), the Apapokúva /Apapocuva/ (1870), and in addition a
[361] relatively recent group that came in 1912. Over a century ago a large settlement was founded in Itaporanga, near Itararé, on land that seems to have been donated by the Baron of Antonina.

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62 [433] [578] supplementary activities, such as exploring for palmitos for trading. Socially, the group is not cohesive, which is reflected in the frequency of dissensions and fights, the allusions to the "espírito de porco"/"spirit of pig"/, and the continual accusations of black magic in the bosom of the community.

[361] Itariri, in the Serra dos Itatins, between Peruíbe and Juquiá, at the point of kilometer 105 of the Santos-Juquiá railway. It seems to be an ancient village, likewise founded in the last century. Some 8 to 10 Ñandéva families live there in a cultural situation comparable to those who live in Bananal. Meanwhile [563] I have not found there any mixed marriages between Indians and caboclos. There was only one individual of different racial origin in the group: a native of Paraná, he was said to be mestizo with a caboclo father and Guaraní mother. For some time a group of Mbüá families who came from Paraguay in 1946 under the leadership of the ñanderú Miguel lived in the village; they later settled next to Rio Comprido, also in the Serra dos Itatins. Among these Mbüá the tribal religion suffered little or no Christian influence during the period subsequent to the Jesuit missions.

[361] Rio Branco, in the vicinity of Praia Grande, south of Santos, about 13 kilometers from the sea, in the Rio Branco valley, i.e., behind the Serra de Jacupiranga. Founded about thirty years ago. [162] When I knew it in 1946 the population present was 55 individuals, namely, 17 men, 15 women, and 23 children. All of them be- [563] longed to the Mbüá subgroup, except for an old Ñandéva couple and a mestizo woman, who had come from another village. There were no caboclos in the village. The inhabitants were distributed in twelve houses, each one generally sheltering one elementary family, but sometimes forming groups of two or three, and thus bringing together the constituent elements of great-families /Port. famílias-grandes/. Today the number of the Indians of the village is much more reduced. The Rio Branco [186] Indians cultivate a strong group consciousness in opposition to the "Portuguese" and do not allow mixed marriages with them. [484] They like to make commercial expeditions to the towns and cities on the coast and even to the capital of the State. At

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2. Clothing

291 177 Cloth for making clothing, however poor its quality, is the most coveted of the gifts that one can take to the population of a Guaraní village. The most evident manifestation of the misery and material poverty of the present-day Guaraní is not to have anything with which to clothe himself. Clothes of European type 291 177 609 156 have become as necessary for him as they are for us. Not so much to serve him as protection against cold and rain, for the rigors of the weather do not preoccupy him in such a manifest way, but because his relations with foreign people demand that the Indian present himself dressed. The "bare" Indian, one who does not have a shirt and trousers to cover the nakedness of his body, does not leave his hut when someone visits the village.

291 156 182 186 177 European clothing thus gives the Guaraní more assurance in his attitudes and capacity for self-affirmation in relation to the civilized man, who looks at the Indian's nudity as the most eloquent expression of cultural backwardness and even of savagry. In the struggle for an acceptable status with regard to the caboclo, the Indian therefore cannot dispense with clothing. Another function of the clothing of Western type is the defense of the nuclear spheres of the tribal culture. Dressing in the European way, the Guaraní has the appearance of being civilized; he thus avoids criticism and mockery, and it is easier for him to preserve cultural values that he by no means wants to give up.

296 515 From the point of view of hygiene, the use of clothing is highly detrimental, for as soon as the Indian puts on garb of European type the cleanliness of the body leaves much to be desired; it is as though the clothing made baths dispensable. Washing the clothes, too, is a pattern poorly integrated in the culture. There are many Indians who, as soon as they get a piece of clothing, put it on without losing any time, using it day and night, until it falls apart.

2: Schaden--214 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guaraní SM4 Nandéva

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539 772 He asked that they take him on as a sailor. They acceded to his desire and later he was entrusted with the command of a big ship. -- When he started the first voyage with the ship, there was a number of Italians on it. They went off to sea, passing from the blue water to the red, and from the red to the black. Then the sea swallowed up the ship, the Guaraní and all the Italians. But 'on the other side' everybody came out safe and sound. Then in the distance they saw an island and navigated in its direction, but the island receded before the ship and could not be reached. Then, finally, the Guaraní remembered the magic song of his tribe, and, after it was sung for some time, the island actually stopped and the ship could approach it. The Guaraní disembarked, but as soon as any of the others tried to follow him, the island started to recede. Then he ordered the men to wait until he returned, and he went toward the interior of the island, where there was a forest of fruit-bearing trees, some with flowers and some with fruits of every species. The chirping of the birds was heard, and from the recesses of the forest came the songs of the Guaraní, simultaneously with the stamping of the dancers and the sounds of the tacoá. Then the Guarani went into the forest and nevermore returned. -- For a long time the men of the ship waited in vain for his return: As he did not appear, however, and the island withdrew at every attempt to disembark, they decided to go on. -- The Guaraní, meanwhile, now leads a good life. He is again in the midst of his people, and he does not lack anything, will not need to die" (9).

9. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 50-51.

539 772 186 One of the notable features of his narrative, aside from the curious analogy with the Fortunate Island of the Karaíb /Carib/ is the discriminatory distinction /167/ between the tribal brother and the foreign individuals lumped together under the denomination of "Italians" /Port. "italianada"/ and not destined for paradisiacal happiness. No hope of entering the promised land is given to the foreigner, because of the simple fact that, not being a member

/167 cont./

539 of the tribe, it is impossible for him to be admitted to the
772 Guaraní religious community. Besides, those not belonging to
186 the tribe could not count on admission to the Land without Evil, because their propensity for irreverence and mockery, as well as the disorderly life that distinguishes them, are pointed out as the main cause of the threatening catastrophe. There is no doubt but that all this is not mentioned in the story reproduced above, but I have had the opportunity to hear such explanations repeatedly from the lips of the Indians themselves.

771 It is not a great step that leads from the accusation of a
829 stranger to self-incrimination. Every Guaraní knows perfectly
177 well that the disintegration of the culture in which he lives is a
182 direct consequence of contact with foreign individuals and cultural elements, but neither is he ignorant of the fact that he himself was unable to resist the tempting innovations, accepting them in the place of so many traditional elements. It is understandable that the results of the cultural contact, social disorganization among them, came to constitute for him an explanation of the fact that, in spite of all the religious fervor and the most intense efforts, the path that leads to Paradise is not revealed to him.

771 Formerly, it is told, Paradise was accessible to everyone, and
772 many found the way because they prayed confidently to Ñanderykey,
178 the civilizer hero, asking that he come to look for them. The present-day Guaraní, however -- it is common talk among the Ñandéva -- will reach the Land without Evil only after death, because they are full of vices and weaknesses.

[167] Nowadays the majority of the Ñandéva, whose migrations ended decades ago, localize Paradise at the zenith, perhaps also by analogy with the Christian heaven. Among them, those who live near the sea and who, in the great majority, were even born there no longer cherish, as we see, the illusion of reaching it before
[177] their death. The myth, although mixed with Christian elements, nevertheless continues to exist.

/170 cont./

772 For the migrating Mbüá, Paradise, the Promised Land -- according to the explanation by the ñanderú Miguel of Itariri -- is a genuine garden or orchard, kääguy miní, consisting of low vegetation ("same as capuera /second-growth forest/, but it is not capuera"), corresponding to the ideal of existence on earth: a country without mosquitoes and sand flies /Phlebotomus/, without snakes and wild beasts, without briars and other plagues, and rich in game, fruit trees that are not very high, and good land for tillage: a country, finally, in which one could plant and hunt as one wished. There is an abundance of game: jacu, kotý (wild pig), toucan, etc.; there is, however, no paca, no deer, no armadillo. There is much fruit: banana, narã (orange), txandjáu (watermelon), manduí (earthnut), and many others -- everything having arisen by God's will. Miguel goes on enumerating the fruits, each time saying oguereko (there is). The banana trees, orange trees, and other fruit trees are very low, shorter than a human being, but the fruits are all the larger. The other trees, such as the cinnamon and the cedar, are likewise not very tall, but quite thick. The
[178] representation of a Paradise in which one does not have to work, such as was described by the ñanderú Sebastião, is a recent and not generalized product, immediate fruit of the cultural disintegration.
[181] In the meantime there predominates a dream corresponding to the cultural ideal accepted by the tribe, according to which the activities practiced in the traditional manner continue to form an integral part of happiness, consequently not being felt as a less de-
772 sirable thing. And part of this fate is also the possibility of living
• 186 rigorously, in all details, in accordance with the pattern of the tribe: whether in diet, clothing, or any other sector of life. In the "Land never ending," everybody will wear the ancient Mbüá costume and the men will wear hats of karandáí. Ñanderú ndaipotái, God does not want them to wear the hat of civilized type. Any and every element that is recognized as coming /171/ from the civilized world is banned from Paradise. Finally, the loyalty to the elements of the traditional culture has already taken on religious meaning. This means that the antiacculturative moment has invaded the field of the mythical representations and influenced the conception of the world.

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to the /176/ demands of the new conditions, which forces him to share the power with a civil chief. 3. Teachings of the Christian doctrine are invoked to explain the frustration, making possible a reinterpretation of the myth. 4. The frustration is related in causal terms to the aspects of cultural change appraised negatively, which favors the strengthening of antiacculturative reactions. 5. Both the negative result of the ceremonies and the misery and poverty stemming from the carelessness of the economic activities result in general psychic depression, a persecution mania, flight toward sickness and other such morbid manifestations (10),

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 228]

10. /From pp. 177-178 of the original source./ It is necessary, in my opinion, to include among these manifestations the considerable consumption of sugar-cane aguardiente among the present-day Guaraní, undoubtedly bound up with the larger sphere of the acculturative problems. No great effort is needed to see that the tendency toward alcoholism increases in direct proportion to the social disorganization and the frequency of contacts with foreigners. The most prone to the vice are the Ñandéva and Mbüá of the villages of Bananal, Itariri, and Rio Branco; the least, the Mbüá most faithful to the original patterns of their culture, such as, for example, the Mbüá of the Serra dos Itatins, who came from Paraguay in 1946 and among whom, on the occasion of my visits, there was no inveterate drinker.

The attitude of the Indians regarding drunkenness is interesting. Some, generally the ones most caboclolzed, feel little pleasure when the subject is mentioned; they are ashamed of the vice, which they try to fight, even by means of remedies. Others, like the Mbüá of Rio Branco, talk about their tendency toward the use of drink without the least constraint: "Sometimes a person